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ABSTRACT

Julio Mesquita joined the staff of "O Estado de Sao Paulo" in 1885 and became a director in 1891, when he also began his first term as a deputy of the Sao Paulo state assembly. Until his death in 1927, Mesquita guided the newspaper's growth in all respects--editorial, political, technological, and economic. Julio de Mesquita Filho assumed leadership of the paper after his father's death. In 1930 "O Estado" backed Getulio Vargas for president, only to turn against him when Vargas' dictorial intent became apparent. In 1940 Vargas took over the paper and in 1945 the government returned the paper to the Mesquitas and "O Estado" immediately resumed its anti-Vargas stance, only to see Vargas' hand-picked successor elected to office. "O Estado" was a leader in modern production techniques in the post-World War II period and also set high standards in employee benefits and working conditions. In the early 1960s, "O Estado" opposed the left-leaning government in power and supported the military takeover of 1964. Four years later the political climate, including institutionalized press censorship, was such that Mesquita Filho ceased writing editorials. At his death in 1969, "O Estado" was a prime target of government repression. (Author/RB)

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The Prince, the Captain and The State:

An Examination of the Mesquita Family Ownership of O Estado de São Paulo to 1969

AEJ International Division Student Paper, 1974

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Freedom of the press, the late, iconoclastic journalist A. J. Liebling observed, belongs to those who own one. His North American bias, over and above his sarcasm, is evident.

In Latin America, where ownership of the leading newspapers tends to be a family affair of long standing,[1] at least one generation of owners of most major publications which have survived from the turn of the century has been denied press freedom by some political regime in power. Often such denial has been accompanied by government appropriation of the newspaper and imprisonment or exile of the owner.

Brazil's largest, most influential and most commercially successful paper, O Estado de São Paulo, now in third-generation ownership by the Mesquita family, is in some ways a typical example; yet in others it is unique among the giants of the Latin American press.

Often described by North American journalism critics as "The New York Times of Brazil," O Estado was dubbed "the good, gray giant of Brazilian journalism" by Newsweek a decade ago.[2] In longevity, at age 99 it is surpassed by only O Jornal do Commércio in Brazil. For 83 of those years it has been under the deliberative and determined direction of the Mesquitas; and since its beginnings it has adhered essentially to the same political orientation--supporting democratic, civilian, constitutional government and a free capitalist economy.

While the former has not been a hallmark of the nation since the proclamation of the republic in 1889, the latter has

contributed to O Estado's continued and increasing influence as a voice of the "opposition."

The history of O Estado de São Paulo and the history of the three Júlios de Mesquita--father, son and grandson--cannot be separated. When O Estado observes its centennial anniversary next year, messages of congratulations will arrive from throughout Brazil and the world, many from other prestigeous publications which have sent communiques on other important occasions in the paper's past--the death in 1927 of Júlio Cesar Ferreira de Mesquita after 36 years as director...the return of control of the paper to its rightful owners in 1945 after five years of government appropriation...the death of Júlio de Mesquita Filho in 1969 after over 40 years as director.

From A Provincia to O Estado

In 1808 one Hipólito José da Costa, a Portuguese who favored Brazilian independence, began publishing the first Brazilian "newspaper"--in London½ The British, interested in seeing Brazil become independent so as to have an expanded market for their exports, cooperated in transporting the Correio Braziliense[3] to the colony, where it is said to have softened the resistance of the Brazilian elite toward separation from Portugal.[4]

That same year Portugal established a regential press to publish government documents and an official government newspaper, the Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro.[5] Censorship initially was the rule. Prior censorship was in effect until 1821, and then a decree by the regent set forth only after-the-fact restrictions on publication, these providing for trial of the accused by a jury of "good, honorable

intelligent and patriotic" citizens. The imperial Constitution of 1824 guaranteed freedom of expression, provided that a person respond to any charge of abuse which he might allededly commit in the exercise of this right.[6]

The public press in São Paulo began on a small scale in 1823 with an arrangement to circulate eight copies of a hand-written news sheet among forty subscribers. In 1827 the first printed journal, O Farol Paulistano, appeared. This was also the year in which the Sao Paulo Law Academy was created, and the new journal soon became a sounding board for both students and professors.[7]

Small newspapers in the next few decades tended to pop up like mushrooms and last about as long until the parallel movements for abolition of slavery and the creation of the republic gained strength in the 1870s. In 1875 a group of 17 men supportive, for the most part, of both aims, founded A Província de São Paulo with the slogan "Representation and Justice."[8] Two of the founders had been signers of the "Republican Manifesto of 1870," which called for an end to the monarchy.[9] In addition to political solidarity, the new publishers sought to provide readers with "an authentic spokesman for public aspirations."[10]

When slavery was abolished in 1888, A Província published an editorial the following day stating:

> The nation without slaves is not yet the free nation. Now the fight to free the whites begins...We should be more happy today than yesterday, but it is fitting that we should be even more so tomorrow...

Thus the paper defined abolition as the prelude to proclamation of the republic.[11]

In 1885 Júlio de Mesquita, a native of Campinas who was a graduate of the Faculty of Law in São Paulo, joined the staff of A Província after brief stints in his home city working for an attorney and for the Gazeta de Campinas. He became political director of the São Paulo paper in 1891 when director Rangel Pestana was elected to the federal Senate; at the same time Mesquita himself was elected to the state Chamber of Deputies.[12]

After the proclamation of the republic in 1889, A Província changed its name to O Estado de São Paulo, as São Paulo the province became São Paulo the state. The paper changed ownership several times during the 1880s; it was acquired by a Printing Association (Sociedade Impressóra) in 1889[13] and on January 1,1890, O Estado announced a change in administration, with Júlio de Mesquita becoming editor.

The same issue informed readers of coming improvements in the newspaper: A new Marinoni rotary press had been ordered from Italy; a regular correspondent in Portugal had been contracted. With these advances, O Estado told its readership, "We believe no other paper in the country will better demonstrate its wish to serve the public and merit its confidence."[14]

The standards of excellence in reportorial staffing and technological equipment would be two of Mesquita's three administrative concerns for all of his journalistic career--the third, not surprisingly, being advertising volume. In this area, too, O Estado even in 1890 left no question as to its orientation. The January 9 issue carried this notice on its front page:

> Due to the large amount of advertising today, for lack of space we will not publish some Free-lance Section (Seccão Livre) articles and various announcements, which will appear tomorrow, with our apologies for the inconvenience.

O Estado that first year established itself as a newspaper of record, printing extended reports of government organization plans and, on May 31, the full text of the proposed constitution of the new republic. (These reports were carried, no doubt, in some part because Rangel Pestana was a member of the commission which prepared the proposed constitution, and Mesquita was serving as an aid to José Prudente de Moraes Barros, the provisional president of the new state of São Paulo!)

In September the first three federal senators to be elected from São Paulo were Rangel Pestana, Prudente de Moraes, and Manoel Ferraz Campos Salles. Both Predente de Moraes and Campos Salles were frequent contributors to the pages of O Estado; both would later be elected to the presidency of the republic, with the backing of the newspaper.

Along with the report on the Senate election, O Estado on September 15 noted that among those defeated for federal deputy was Júlio de Mesquita, who nonetheless was the top vote getter among a slate of four candidates of a minority Republican party of Santos.

The next year Mesquita, this time running on the Governist ticket (that is, as a candidate nominated by the in-power faction's commission of electors, and thus a shoo-in), received the most votes of all the forty candidates for state deputy. When the state Chamber convened he was elected temporary chairman; when permanent officers were chosen he became first secretary. [16]

His dual career as journalist and politician would continue, the first without interruption until his death, and the second sporadically according to the winds of political opportunism. In the administration of President Floriano Peixoto he would serve as federal deputy; later he would return to the state assembly as deputy and then senator, although in the last case, according to his obituary in O Estado, he "did not attend sessions, devoting all his time to his newspaper." [17]

The Prince of Brazilian Journalism

Mesquita in 1891 became a director of O Estado. In 1895 the Printing Association was dissolved and ownership of the paper passed to another company, with Mesquita continuing as editor and director. [18] In 1896 the newspaper launched two innovations--one editorial, the other promotional.

First, amid rumors of a monarchist plot against the republic in the back country of Northeast Brazil, the paper dispatched its first full-fledged "war correspondent" to the scene. He was Euclydes da Cunha, whose vivid accounts of the government forces subduing the Canudos uprising--in which he found no evidence of a monarchist conspiracy--would later be expanded into a much-heralded book about the misery of the back country poor of Brazil. [19]

Second, O Estado sought to boost circulation by offering free almanacs to new subscribers. The gimmick proved disappointing, as it would again in repeat campaigns in 1916 and 1940. [20]

In 1902 Julio de Mesquita bought O Estado; five years later it became a joint-stock company with him as editor-in-chief. With the new Marinoni press, the paper was printing 35,000 copies daily, running 16 to 20 pages per issue. [21] Because the press printed pages of larger-than-normal dimensions, the newspaper acquired the nickname O Estadão (the "big" Estado). Half a century later the aging Merinoni would be replaced by new presses using standard-size pages, but the nickname would remain--perhaps because by that time the newspaper was fat with advertising. [22]

Markets--especially coffee-and international business and political news occupied an increasingly important place in the newspaper. Page One had become dedicated almost exclusively to world news, a practice that continues today, and reports were carried from Havas international agency and from other newspapers' telegraphic dispatches.

In 1907 O Estado reported extensively on The Hague Conference and participation therein by Brazilian statesman-man of letters Rui Barbosa. Two years later Barbosa's civilist campaign for the Brazilian presidency sparked wide press interest, especially in São Paulo, where the state administration backed him. O Estado was among the many major newspapers to support Barbosa, only to see him defeated. [23] Nevertheless, according to press historian Nelson Werneck Sodré, Mesquita's editorials in support of Barbosa during the campaign were the best political commentaries of the journalist's career. [24]

In 1914 Mesquita again became sole owner of O Estado and the newspaper moved to a new plant where during World War I an afternoon edition, known as O Estadinho (the "little" Estado), was also published. The next year O Estado carried its first color advertisement--on the front page, where ads increasingly accumulated until in the 1940s some front pages consisted of the nameplate of the paper and nothing else but a full-page display ad. The color advertisement was prepared by an agency, the then-new intermediary between advertiser and publication that would grow in importance for the national press in a land which would attract ever-increasing foreign investment in industry, commerce...and advertising. [26]

Júlio de Mesquita became an increasingly influential leader of an increasingly powerful newspaper during the First World War, coming to be known as "the prince of Brazilian journalism." On April 10, 1917, word reached São Paulo that Brazil had broken diplomatic relations with Germany. In a plaza a group of students demonstrated in protest and police converged upon them with slashing swords. O Estado commented editorially the next day that "the first blood to be spilled on Brazilian soil (in the war) is paulista blood, spilled by São Paulo soldiers." [27]

In July that year a general labor strike swept the state with demands for wage increases to compensate for inflation O Estado joined in an "Appeal by Journalists" for a meeting of representatives of the workers, employers and the government. The meeting took place in the newsroom of O Estado, where a team of five journalists, none from that newspaper, formed a mediation board. The workers won their demands. [28]

On October 29, 1917, O Estado published an extensive report on students at the Law Faculty who had organized a Nationalist Center in support of obligatory military service in the nation. The article atressed that there was "no connection between Brazilian nationalism and European nationalism" of the period because the aim of the group was national solidarity. The students further defended continued European economic investment in Brazil as being conducive to the development of Brazil's national wealth, which in turn provided a base of national power and prestige. Among the students espousing these ideas was Júlio de Mesquita Filho. [29]

If Júlio de Mesquita was an impressive man in life, he became monumental in death, which occurred on March 15, 1927, following a brief illness. The following day O Estado carried on its front page a life-size halftone portrait of Mesquita, encircled in black. The text on the page described him as the "magnificent journalist" of the political campaigns of Rui Barbosa. (Again, in 1919, the newspaper had backed Barbosa for president; again, O Estado and the candidate lost. [30]) The second page of the paper carried messages of condolence and a list of callers at the Mesquita home.

A day later, on March 17, the front page of O Estado was back to routine reporting of world news, but pages 2, 3, 4, and most of 5 were filled with coverage of the funeral, mostly lists of names of persons paying last respects and sending flowers and telegrams. A four-paragraph item at the bottom of one page commended police for directing traffic during the funeral cortege involving "about 2,000" vehicles.

Lists of persons expressing condolences were published daily through March 28. Two changes were made in the nameplate of the newspaper: a centered line beneath the name read "Júlio Mesquita, director 1891-1927," and newly listed as directors were Júlio de Mesquita Filho and Nestor Rangel Pestana, long-time managing editor under the senior Mesquita. Named new editor-in-chief was Plínio Barreto, who would later be the first Estado journalist ordered into exile by dictator Getúlio Vargas.

Some insights into the senior Mesquita are found in articles published by other newspapers at the time of his death. O Jornal of Rio de Janeiro eulogized him in its March 24 issue as a "typical politician, fazendeiro (plantation farmer), industrialist and journalist." It recalled that when Mesquita became disenchanted with political developments he would retire to his coffee plantation in São Paulo state and concentrate on "building new coffee fields on old lands, braving untilled back country" and succeeding through his own audacity. As an industrialist, O Jornal said, he accomplished the near-miracle in a land of illiterates of building up an acquired newspaper into not only the most esteemed in the country, but also the most stable in economic independence."

The Rio paper also commended Mesquita's leadership in O Estado's examination of such issues as the ports, telephones and British involvement in Brazilian development, noting that in addition to its political "effervescence" the publication gave extensive coverage to public health campaigns. (O Estado at the time of Mesquita's death was running a series on the need for street and sidewalk pavement. [31])

Perhaps the most interesting comments were expressed by the long-time fierce rival of O Estado, the Correio Paulistano, a maverick paper supported entirely by the Paulista Republican Party [32] and described by one Brazilian press historian as being the spokesman for a "confusion of liberalism and conservatism, monarchist tendencies and republican spirit, patriarchalism and strongman rule." [33] From the 1890s the two papers had gleefully attacked each other on virtually any topic that could be politicized--even the terrible influenza epidemic of 1918.

The Correio said history would judge Mesquita's politics, but praised his "campaign for the written word," noting:

> For anyone who has ever grasped a pen, the death of Júlio de Mesquita is especially sorrowful...(he was) one of the most precise writers Brazil has ever produced... Whatever his topic, his agile and lively style in reporting and commentary, biting polemics (were) almost always laced with cheerful irony,..spontaneity, eloquence, and an insuperable and seductive elegance. [34]

Dr. Julinho, or "the Captain"

After the senior Mesquita's death the newspaper again became a stock company, with the Swiss-educated Júlio de Mesquita Filho, known as Dr. Julinho and later as "the Captain," its chief officer. He admired La Prensa and La Nación of Argentina, and followed their lead in incorporating a rotogravure supplement into O Estado. [35] His close personal ties with the Gainza Paz family of La Prensa would later provide refuge in time of exile and incentive to become involved in hemispheric journalism concerns.

In 1930 the newspaper supported the pro-labor coalition candidate for president, Getúlio Vargas. For a change, it seemed, O Estado was on the winning side. But only for the moment.

In the pro-labor period of Vargas, 1930-45, Brazilian journalism became professionalized with the formation of unions and working press associations concerned about employe working conditions and benefits. [36] Labor-management problems at that time were virtually unknown at O Estado because of a long tradition of judicious paternalism on the part of the Mesquitas. Júlio de Mesquita in 1890, when he was editor-in-chief, was named honorary president of the Estado de São Paulo Employes Beneficent Association, which he had founded.

The Constitution of 1934 provided for freedom of speech and press excepting efforts to subvert the political or social order. In 1937 under the Estado Nôvo (literally New State) dictatorial regime declared by Vargas the president imposed strict censorship of the media and set up a federal Department of Press and Publicity to control the flow of news. At the same time he created another agency that would become notorious for its abuses of citizen rights--the Department of Social and Political Order, the political police. [38]

Vargas imprisoned or forced into exile his adversaries and others who failed to adapt to the dictatorial system. Gustavo Adolfo Otero in his history of the press in Latin America observed in a masterpiece of understatement that during the Vargas regime:

> ... although the newspapers were not subject to prior censorship by the authorities, a system of automatic censorship was created which negated their concerning themselves with public affairs and all events relating to the government which would be looked upon unkindly by authorities. 39

A Brazilian journalist in later years was more blunt:

> During the (Vargas) dictatorship, two newspapers, principally, were violently victimized: O Estado de São Paulo and the Diário Carioca (of Rio de Janeiro). The former was taken over by the government. The latter was plastered by machinegun fire from military forces who burst into the composing room, guns ablaze. 40

Specifically, O Estado, which dropped its support of Vargas as soon as his political leanings away from the Constitution became evident, was taken over by the military police on March 25, 1940, on the pretext that the owners and directors had hidden weapons at the newspaper plant for use in a plot to overthrow the regime. During the next five years "the Captain" was not permitted to set foot on the ship; he was imprisoned a total of fourteen times and went into exile twice, spending some time in Argentina with Alberto Gainza Paz of La Prensa. [41]

The newspaper was published during these years under the control of the Department of Press and Publicity, with Abner Mourão, former director of the long-time rival Correio Paulistano, which had ceased publication in 1930, installed as director. [42]

In 1945 the dictatorship collapsed. On November 30 three of the four names of Vargas-imposed directors and editors disappeared from the nameplate of O Estado, and the name of an "interim editor-in-chief," Leo Vaz--a former director under Mesquita--appeared. Under "Notes and Information," the traditional editorial commentary column on the third page of the paper, readers were told the paper was expected to be returned to its "former owners" that day.

On December 1 the newspaper unleashed a harsh editorial opposing General Gaspar Dutra, the Vargas-backed candidate in the presidential election to be held the next day, and supporting the coalition opposition candidate. Throughout the following week the election returns trickled in from the interior, slowly but surely giving Dutra a two-to-one margin of victory. O Estado reported the returns on its inside pages but did not comment editorially.

On December 6 Júlio de Mesquita Filho reassumed ownership of the newspaper, and the following day it celebrated by telling the story to its readers, and showing its political colors. On the front page was a near-life-size portrait of Eduardo Gomes, the candidate opposing Dutra for president, with a laudatory caption which made no reference to the election of five days earlier, in which by then it was almost a foregone conclusion he was the loser. On page three was a similarly large portrait of the late Júlio de Mesquita--the same likeness, in fact, which had been published at the time of his death. The headline of the page read, "O Estado de São Paulo reverts to its legitimate owners."

The two articles which appeared on the page were first-person accounts of O Estado recent history by staff members whose bylines were common to readers before the Vargas takeover.

José Bento Monteiro Lobato, a nationally known conservationist and cartoonist as well as a journalist, recalled for readers the good old days under the senior Mesquita before the woes of the Vargas regime. He recalled the 1918 flu epidemic in São Paulo which

at one point had literally everyone on the newspaper staff, from Mesquita down to the lowliest reporter and copyeditor, laid out... with the exception of himself and one other fledgling staffer. The two were the so-called "frogs" of the newspaper, the word in Portuguese (sapo) referring to a person who basically sat around and kibitzed while others did the work. They suddenly realized one night, Monteiro Lobato recounted, that if they didn't put out the paper, no one would.

With the help of another pal they brought in, they succeeded in keeping the newspaper in business a few days until others were able to return to work. The most fun of the undertaking, Monteiro Lobato wrote, was setting out deliberately to write something in the "Notes and Information" column that would provoke the ire of the Correio Paulistano. He decided to criticize state officials for their handling of the flu crisis; the opposition picked up the gauntlet and responded in kind; battling the flu at his plantation, Júlio de Mesquita wondered what was happening in his newsroom.

Monteiro Lobato wrote that in the post-World War I years the young Dr. Julinho "went around in a permanent crisis of enthusiasm, wrapped up in furious debates" about patriotism. In a somewhat more serious vein, he recalled that the newspaper was never generous in dispensing adjectives. He wrote, "For the paper to call someone 'distinguished' or 'noted' a lot was needed--above all that the person really be so."

Finally, he cited the day when O Estado was invaded by the police, followed by the exile of the owner and government takeover of the paper. Noting that the Milky Way galaxy has a dark area known as the Coal Sack, he said the years just over had been such a "sack" for Júlio de Mesquita Filho.

In the other article on the page Paulo Duarte took a much less emotional approach, perhaps achieving greater impact by simply letting the facts speak for themselves. He had been ordered by the Ministry of Justice in 1938 to leave the country as an "undesirable," the second O Estado journalist to be so treated. He went to Europe and became the newspaper's war correspondent, writing under a pseudonym. Now he was back at the paper, and soon to be joined by the man who had preceded him into exile, Plínio Barreto--who would become a director of the paper and hold that position at the time of Vargas' suicide in 1954.

From December 8 until the final results of the election were tallied, O Estado published a constant barrage of editorials attacking Vargas, and Dutra as his front-man. Once again the newspaper lost an election, as Dutra received twice the popular vote of his opponent, and Vargas himself came in second among eleven candidates in São Paulo for the federal Senate, thus winning a seat.

Order and Progress

In the post-World War II period O Estado under Mesquita Filho's leadership continued expanding its news and business operations, incorporating technological innovation and social modification into the smooth-running journalistic enterprise.

A United Nations Economic and Social Council study of seventeen "important" newspapers of the world during a selected week in 1951 showed that O Estado carried a greater volume of foreign news than any other. Similarly, a study of Western Hemisphere newspapers surveyed over a thirty-day period in 1960 found the paper second only to The New York Times in space devoted to foreign news. [43] These statistics came as no surprise to Mesquita Filho, for O Estado had spared no expense in setting up the most extensive international newsgathering network feasible.

According to press analyst Juarez Bahia, O Estado is the largest and most complete Brazilian newspaper. In 1957 it began an exclusive international correspondents service, while at the same time maintaining the best network of national correspondents and the most domestic bureaus of any Brazilian paper. [44] The newspaper by 1964 circulated throughout most of the country, thanks to air transport begun that year with the use of the newspaper's own DC-3, although Mesquita Filho admitted that such far-flung circulation--and even delivery to Rio de Janeiro 400 miles up the coast--was "for prestige, never for profit." [45]

In 1964 the newspaper launched a new morning sports edition; the next year it became the first sports paper in the hemisphers to transmit and receive its own Telephoto pictures of soccer games. In 1966 the empire expanded to include a new afternoon paper, Jornal da Tarde, while O Estado was carrying five tabloid supplements per week (women's, literary, agriculture, tourism, and industrial). [46]

The move of the federal government officially to Brasília in 1969 marked the first Telephoto transmission from the interior capital, and it was again an Estado project. [47] In the 1960s

the paper had three correspondents each in Paris and the United States, and one each in Rome, London, Buenos Aires, the Caribbean and Venezuela. [48]

Internally, by 1960 O Estado had two dining rooms for employes, one requiring that the men wear jackets and the other apparently catering to those in "work clothes." An American journalism educator who toured the facilities in 1960 found them pleasant and clean, with good food at low cost. [49] In 1956 the Estado Company Employes Cooperative was formed. It was set up to operate autonomously but with support from the newspaper in the form of interest-free loans to enable the cooperative to undertake new activities. After a decade of operation it had 575 members. [50]

Ten years ago Mesquita Filho boasted that all his reporters were college graduates and that he paid all his staff a salary sufficient so that they had no need to moonlight, or hold second full-time jobs as journalists in Latin America have often done simply because it was the only way to earn a living wage. [51] The newspaper set up an introductory journalism course for all job applicants who lacked newsroom experience, and it has said, perhaps not in jest, that Dr. Julinho hired several Portuguese staffers so the Brazilians could learn the finer points of the written language. [52]

There was criticism of the newspaper, not so much for its internal operations as for its alleged elitist view of the world. American journalism researcher John C. Merrill noted in 1968:

> O Estado's critics in Brazil, and there are many, accuse the Mesquitas of having little concern for the masses, of being for the big businessman, and of generally defending the status quo. 53

The charge was not new; Mesquita Filho had responded to it twenty years earlier in an address at the São Paulo Law Faculty, saying:

> O Estado de São Paulo has never accepted the status quo as a definitive solution to the so-called social question. All of us who toil can never feel satisfied in our own consciences so long as Brazil finds itself unable to guarantee all its children a minimum economic well-being compatible with human dignity, and a maximum moral and intellectual development in accordance with each person's abilities. 54

In this address, however, he stressed a capitalist approach to social change, consistent with O Estado's traditional ideology and previewing the paper's inevitable call for the overthrow of a democratically elected civilian government that by the early 1960s was becoming too marxist-oriented to be tolerated by the Mesquitas.

Also in the post-war period Mesquita Filho was persuaded by La Prensa's Gainza Paz to become a member of the Inter-American Press Association. The 1954 IAPA general meeting took place in Rio de Janeiro, but O Estado was not represented, and according to a history of the association the major impact of those Brazilian editors on hand was the squelching of a proposed code of ethics being considered for adoption by the members. [55] In 1958 the IAPA attempted, unsuccessfully, to intervene on behalf of O Estado when its correspondent in Paris, Gilles Lapouge, had his accreditation withdrawn by the French government. [56]

According to Dr. Julinho, he joined the IAPA mostly as a personal courtesy to his friend Gainza Paz. He served as president of the association in 1965-66 but played no major role in IAPA direction. His greatest contribution to the IAPA may have been his

introduction of his son into its activities. Julio de Mesquita Neto chaired a committee of the association in 1959-60 and participated actively as member and chairman of the powerful Freedom of the Press Committee in the post-1968 period; [57] next year he will become IAPA president only three years after another Brazilian held the post.

Internationalism in another area concerning the press attracted the concern of O Estado, among other newspapers, in Brazil in the mid-1960s. The issue was the investment of foreign capital, particularly North American capital, in the mass media industry of Brazil, with particular focus on the alleged control by Time-Life of Rio's TV-Globo television station. The constitution prohibited foreign participation in the nation's publishing and broadcasting enterprises. Although the controversy centered in Rio--or perhaps because of this--it was the paulista press which demanded a government investigation.

Júlio de Mesquita Filho, representing O Estado, and his brother Ruy, representing Jornal da Tarde, were among São Paulo media leaders who signed the "Manifesto to the Nation" calling for a federal investigation of the situation. [58] Later that year Jornal da Tarde in an article entitled "Press and capital" reported that among various violations of the law concerning media operations and foreign capital, "the most scandalous case without doubt was that of the substantiated association" of TV-Globo and Time-Life. [59]

Critics of the ad-fat O Estado found the Mesquita papers' concern in the case incongruous with their own interdependence on foreign capital in the form of advertising from the multinational firms doing business in Brazil. Further, in the 1950s

O Estado had acquired control of a São Paulo radio and television station only because of "pressures brought to bear" on President Vargas himself. [60]

Mesquita Filho had no interest in debating such accusations of insinuations. He took pride in telling a Brazilian interviewer:

> Although it receives no subsidies from foreign capital, while contrary to what the governor of the state recently insinuated it does not belong to or constitute an economic group interest, while it religiously pays all taxes and employe benefits, while it has never had the spurious backing of any municipal, state or federal government, the firm, which has had its hard times, today is in an excellent (financial) condition which will make major expansion plans possible. 61

"The Captain" differed from his father in one major respect, and apparently by choice: whereas the senior Mesquita successfully combined careers as politician and journalist, his son disavowed a public vocation. It was not a question of the times, for others of his generation did mix the two--notably Carlos Lacerda, who was owner of Rio's Tribuna da Imprensa and governor of Guanabara state in the 1960s, and Assis Chateaubriand, founder of the Diarios Associados newspaper and broadcasting chain, who was elected to the federal Senate and to the Brazilian Academy of Letters, besides being named ambassador to England. [62]

This is not to say that Mesquita Filho did not view his newspaper as a vehicle for the exercise of political power. In 1960 an American interviewer observed that he had no room in his vocabulary for modesty, for he considered his paper, his policies and his politics superior to any other in Brazil. He gave the impression of "an explosive man, aloof, positive he is right and the only one so." Not surprisingly, the interviewer found other

newspaper leaders expressed little personal fondness for "the Captain." He refused to attend journalistic luncheons or to host them; he declined to attend a press luncheon for visiting Henry Cabot Lodge but did appear at a large reception for Lodge where hundreds of persons other than press representatives were present. [63]

In 1969, the last year of his life, Júlio de Mesquita Filho assembled a collection of his writings and speeches into a book entitled Politica e Cultura (Politics and Culture) which he dedicated to his three sons, Julio, Ruy and Luiz Carlos, "as an incentive so that whatever career they choose, they may do more and do it better." [64] With five years' hindsight, he reflected on the precipitating factors of the 1964 military takeover, as well as its aftermath.

He had seen the resignation of the elected president, Jânio Quadros, as a desertion, "with the return to power of pure getulismo (as characterized by Getúlio Vargas) represented by his pupil Jango (João) Goulart (who as vice president then became chief executive)." He considered the public demonstrations against Goulart in major Brazilian cities just before the military intervened as "the ultimate public protest against the fomentors of the coup d'etat of 1937 (when Vargas became dictator)." [65]

But with the military government in its fifth year in 1969, he said the continued executive dominance over the legislative and judicial branches of government was itself "related to that spirit that prevailed at the formation of the Estado Novo and is in clear conflict with the ideas proclaimed by the people whose presence in the public square was living proof of the magnificent victory of March 31, 1964." [66]

Mesquita Filho had matter-of-factly informed readers of his own involvement in preparations for the military coup within days after it was accomplished. In an article published in O Estado on April 12, 1964, and included in his book, he revealed that some two years earlier he had been approached by high armed forces officials to give his opinion of their contingency plans "in case the conspiracy already underway against the João Goulart regime should succeed."

His reply, written January 20, 1962, was that plans should be laid carefully so as to avoid the results of the 1945 and 1954 coups when the military toppled those in power, only to install others of similar bent in their stead. He objected to a provisional military caretaker government of a proposed five years, saying "two, or at most, three years" should suffice.

He backed the idea of a military triumvirate as executive authority and counseled against "arbitrary" closing of the Congress, preferring a decree of a state of seige so that "parliamentary immunity would be suspended, and a bit later, when public confidence in the revolutionary government has solidified, the dissolution of Congress would be dealt with." [67]

Against this background the scenario was played out. In 1963 João Goulart came under heavy fire politically from both left and right when he supported the planning minister's three-year economic plan for the nation. Leftists called it a sellout to demands by the International Monetary Fund; O Estado argued from the conservative view that the plan was "unrealistic" and did not deal adequately with agriculture and foreign capital problems. [68]

In October 1963 O Estado reported that Humberto Castelo Branco, chief of the Joint Military Command, had written to the war minister that many military leaders felt the minister's support of Goulart's request for state-of-seige powers was ill advised. The newspaper noted "insistent rumors" that Castelo Branco would be the next war minister. [69] Half a year later, the coup accomplished, he became president--the first of what is now four military chiefs to occupy the presidency without benefit of popular election since 1964.

Peace and Prosperity

Although Júlio de Mesquita Filho continued as director of O Estado until his death, he stopped writing editorials in 1968, "when he found he could not accept the rules of the game," Visão magazine said in reporting his demise a year later. [70] His critics may wonder how long it takes to learn the rules, or rather, to learn that often the rules don't matter. For "the Captain" a sense of direction was the basis of a whole lifetime of journalistic endeavor. An admirer of de Toqueville and the American Revolution, he dreamed all his life of helping to bring about a Brazil where individual freedom would be respected while at the same time everything--and everyone--would stay in their proper places. His concept of man and that held by Vargas were of two unreconcilable worlds, Visão said, and thus:

> From 1932...to 1964 Júlio Mesquita Filho successfully battled getulismo, the Estado Novo, the new republic figures who appeared in 1945, Getulio Vargas again, and the presidents who followed him up to the Revolution of March, which he helped bring about and in which he and his sons played an important part. 71

Historians may well ask, then, what was Mesquita Filho, and his father before him, for? Ten years after the 1964 coup would he yet be supporting the militarist caretaker government in which the executive power controls the legislative and the judicial? Answers to questions about a road not taken are uncertain at best. But a clue may be found in the editorial carried by O Estado on the day following the junior Mesquita's death.

The newspaper had not been publishing editorials at all at that time--the aftermath of the Fifth Institutional Act when censorship posed daily dilemmas in the business of putting out a paper. But on July 13, 1969, O Estado pledged as Julio de Mesquita Neto assumed command of the "good gray giant of Brazilian journalism" that it would continue the high standards Dr. Julinho had upheld for the paper, "a task which time may prove more arduous than one can imagine today."

It is difficult for a practitioner of a profession in one culture to attempt to judge it in another. One might be tempted to conclude that, aside from developing O Estado as an industry, the Mesquitas by 1969 had done little for the Brazilian public except provide vast quantities of reading matter, much of it incomprehensible to semiliterates, and much of it irrelevant to a selectively reading middle class and elite.

If, in fact, it may be assumed that Júlio de Mesquita Filho would by 1974 have entertained serious misgivings about the desirability of the current military government he helped into power, what would his political options be? The evolution from A Provincia to O Estado was almost inevitable, a matter of embracing an idea whose time had come. But beyond the embracing of the concept of participatory government, all was trial and error.

The swan song of an editor who closed his newspaper in Brazil in 1869 after forty years of publication seems little different from the frustrations facing the press of that nation today:

> ...the task of journalism in Brazil, where the press vegetates under the weight of high salaries of nevertheless scarce printers, the exorbitant cost of paper and other imported materials, and most of all the high circulation costs--veritable wings of lead on the bird of communication--the undertaking of journalism in Brazil requires heavy sacrifices. For the products of this sacred industry there is a shortage of consumers, because generally the subjects of a regime which maintains power by the absence of public opinion cannot sense the lack of the liberties which the press seeks to redress. 72

Similarly, Rui Barbosa had already concluded in 1898 that:

> Although commercial concerns have invaded these dominions in large scale, leading journalism to degenerate into industrialism and, if you will permit us to say so, into American sensationalism, in the idolatry of the news item, the worship of scandal, the exploitation of the base appetites of curiosity, these deviations have never boosted the authority of the press...the good sense of thinking people indicts them like discredit and the plague. 73

It is not difficult to see why Julio de Mesquita was comfortable with the idea of Rui Barbosa as president; they were men who understood each other, who spoke the same language.

But Barbosa also said that of all freedoms, that of the press is most necessary, most conspicuous, representing and reigning over all others. [74] The misfortune of the Mesquitas was the evidence in 1969 that no political manifestation of a theoretical concept of constitutional republicanism could ensure the preservation of that most necessary freedom. Ironically, O Estado would continue to function, and, indeed, to develop industrially, without freedom.

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Author's Note

From what the author has been able to determine without benefit of research in Brazil itself, there exists no history of O Estado de Sao Paulo; certainly there has been little study made of the newspaper in English. Consequently, much of the information presented here is based on reading of selected issues of the newspaper itself. Thanks is due the Center for Research Libraries in Chicago for its cooperation in making microfilms of O Estado available on short notice.

It should be noted that the spelling of proper names in Portuguese, especially Brazilian Portuguese, is by no means standardized. Thus, many citations were found concerning Julio Mesquita, and as many others of Julio de Mesquita; similarly there are references to Ruy Barbosa and Rui Barbosa; it is not uncommon for a family itself to vary its name from time to time. For purposes of standardization, the author here opted to use "de Mesquita" and "Rui."

Jean Etsinger

April 1974

Footnotes

1. Examples, in addition to the Mesquitas of O Estado de São Paulo, include the Edwards family of El Mercurio (Santiago), the Miró Quesadas of El Comércio (Lima), the Paz family of La Prensa (Buenos Aires), the Bittencourts of Correio da Manha (Rio de Janeiro), and the Marinhos of O Globo (Rio).

2. "Best in Brazil," Newsweek, Feb. 3, 1964, p. 75

3. Not related to the Correio Brazilense published in Brasília today.

4. Milton Themer, "Um assumto de jornal," Realidade, August 1967, p. 152

5. Ibid.

6. Juarez Bahia, Três fases da imprensa brasileira (Santos: Editôra Presença, 1960), p. 77.

7. Richard M. Morse, From Community to Metropolis: A Biography of São Paulo, Brazil (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1958), p. 56.

8. John C. Merrill, The Elite Press: Great Newspapers of the World (New York: Pitman, 1968), p. 130.

9. Morse, From Community, p. 158

10. Bahia, Três fases, p. 40

11. Nelson Werneck Sodré, A história da imprensa no Brasil (Rio de Janeiro: Editôra Civilização Brasileira, 1966), p.276.

12. Eli Behar, Vultos do Brasil: dicionário biobibliográfico brasileiro (São Paulo: Livraria Exposição do Livro, 1967), p. 141.

13. Sodré, A história, pp. 262-264.

14. From this point on, where the material cited has been obtained directly from copies of O Estado de São Paulo, the date and page will be cited in the text in most cases, and no footnote will be given.

15. José Maria Bello, A History of Modern Brazil: 1889-1964, trans. by James L. Taylor (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966, p. 162.

16. O Estado de São Paulo, April 28, 1891, p. 1.

17. Ibid., March 16, 1927, p. 1.

18. Sodré, A história, p. 305.

19. Os Sertões (The Back Country).

20. Sodré, A história, p. 278.

21. Ibid., p. 371.

22. "A prensa perde seu gran capitão," Visão, Aug. 1, 1969, p.19.

23. Juarez Bahia, Jornal, história e técnica (São Paulo: Livraria Martins Editôra, 1967), p. 58.

24. Sodré, A história, p. 375.

25. Ibid., p. 395.

26. Bahia, Três fases, p. 61.

27. Sodré, A história, p. 392.

28. Ibid., pp. 362-363.

29. Ibid., p. 393.

30. Gustavo Adolfo Otero, El periodismo en América: Esquema de su história através de la cultura latino-americana, 1492-1946 (Lima: published by the author, 1946), pp. 217-218.

31. "Júlio de Mesquita," in O Jornal, Rio de Janeiro, March 24, 1927, reprinted in O Estado de São Paulo, March 25, 1927, p. 4.

32. Bahia, Jornal, história, p. 108.

33. Sodré, A história, p. 433.

34. Reprinted in O Estado de São Paulo, March 18, 1927, p. 4.

35. Sodré, A história, p. 423.

36. Otero, El periodismo, p. 219.

37. O Estado de São Paulo, Nov. 26, 1890, p. 1.

38. Bahia, Três fases, pp. 79-80.

39. Otero, El periodismo, p. 219.

40. Themer, "Um assunto de jornal," p. 153.

41. Mary A. Gardner, unpublished notes from an interview with Júlio de Mesquita Filho, São Paulo, Oct. 6, 1959.

42. Sodré, A história, p. 439.

43. Jacques Kayser, One Week's News (Paris: United Nations Economic and Social Council, 1953), p. 47.

44. Bahia, Jornal, história, p. 146.

45. Gardner, notes, Oct. 6, 1959.

46. Bahia, Jornal, historia; p. 94.

47. Bahia, Três fases, p. 74.

48. Mary A. Gardner, unpublished notes from an interview with Júlio de Mesquita Filho, São Paulo, Jan. 7, 1960.

49. Ibid.

50. Bahia, Jornal, história, p. 96.

51. "Best in Brazil," op. cit.

52. Bahia, Jornal, história, p. 110.

53. Merrill, Elite Press, p. 130.

54. Júlio de Mesquita Filho, Política e cultura (São Paulo: Livraria Martins Editôra, 1969), p. 73.

55. Mary A. Gardner, The Inter American Press Association: Its Fight for Freedom of the Press, 1926-1960 (Austin and London: University of Texas Press, for the Institute of Latin American Studies, 1967), pp. 44-45.

56. Ibid., p. 92.

57. Ibid., p. 56.

58. Genival Rabelo, O capital estrangeiro na imprensa brasileira, Vol. SLIX of Retratos do Brasil (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Civilizacão Brasileira, 1966), pp. 277-279.

59. Bahia, Jornal, história, p. 93.

60. Sodré, A história, p. 463.

61. Themer, "Um assunto de jornal," p. 154.

62. Bahia, Três fases, p. 75.

63. Gardner, notes, Jan. 7, 1960.

64. Mesquita, Politica e cultura, dedication on unnumbered page.

65. Ibid., introduction, p. xiv.

66. Ibid., introduction, p. xix.

67. Ibid., chapter entitled "Roteiro da Revolução," pp. 120-123.

68. Jordan M. Young, ed., Brazil 1954-1964: End of Civilian Cycle (New York: Facts on File, Inc., 1972), p. 144.

69. Ibid., p. 150.

70. "A prensa perde," op. cit.

71. Ibid.

72. Bahia, Três fases, p. 34.

73. Afonso Arinos de Melo Franco, Pela liberdade de imprensa (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Jose Olympio Editôra, 1957), p. 164.

74. Ibid.

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